832 to be ends of the twig, actually magic paste, "accidentally" hitting her. They pay for their beer, and leave. The next day, the dabtara takes his skeptical client past the same beer-hut, and lo and behold, the woman calls out an invitation to them, and refuses payment for the beer consumed. The client is now convinced.

This love magic is done secretly because it is considered highly unethical. At least the dabtara is expected to "release" the person "helplessly bewitched" after a while, and not leave the victim in this condition forever.

The däbtära is believed to know, from books on magic, not only the efficacy of barns and plants, but also of animals. His favorite animal is believed to be the chameleon ("zälbabäda"), particularly in love magic, ordered by women. The animal is dried, crushed to powder, and the woman then mixes this with her urine. She must read the formula out loud, containing her name and the name of her husband or the man she wishes to hold against all rivals, then throw the mixture in the air - to be carried by the winds and spirits.

751 The dabtara is believed also to have medicinal magic. Some "careful" men, before going to the adventures of the mead-house ("täj-bét"), go to his house to drink a magic potion to protect them from venereal disease that night.

828 When a woman consistently acts like a man, or a man like a woman,
838 it is believed that there is some biological "mistake of God". In the case of a woman, she is likely to be blamed and even insulted, called "mannish" ("wändawände"). This term is used if she acts independent, takes interest only in masculine weapons and activities, and speaks in hard, insubordinate ways. If she is physically a tall, powerful virago, she is called "wändawäräd" (lit. male-female), a female with too much

828 masculinity.
838

Male transvestites are more often pitied than blamed, for the populace feels even more certain that this is a biological "mistake of God". For, they argue, a woman might try to fool people and assume male prerogatives, but what male would want to surrender the privileges of being a man? He is called "fenafent" (lit. hermaphrodite) and his male organs are believed to be sadly deficient in structure, despite visible male secondary sex characteristics.

This transvestite usually dresses in a woman's embroidered cotton dress or skirt, drapes his toga (shamma) like a woman, likes to work at embroiding the green adornment of a woman's dress, does women's chores, following them at their daily occupations and social gatherings. He dislikes the company of men. Transvestites are relatively rare, and they live as individuals, not forming a society of their own, for they are tolerated. Only their kinfolk are ashamed of them, so they leave them and go to live in another province, (like a tailor unwilling to shame his kin by doing manual labor). Women tolerate a transvestite "like a brother"; men are not jealous of him even though he spends all his time with the womenfolk. Often the transvestite is an unusually sensitive person, quick to anger but intense in his personal likings, sensitive to cultural diffusion from the outside world, expecially those carried by Arab traders; and Muslim Arab traders are often the only male social contacts he tolerates.

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Psychotic cases among women usually assume a domineering male personality, such as believing themselves to be the ruthless Emperor Theodore, or the bloody Ras Mikael of Tigre. The zar doctor, however, elicits the confession of a "zar", so that he can treat the case.

Hysteria is believed mostly due to possession by female zars, who are more mischievous, silly and irresponsible than evil. If such a female zar possesses a male patient, he will manifest characteristics regarded as feminine, such as silly gaiety, and teasing behavior. If [838] not "awakened" quickly, such a state may become chronic and gradually destroy his masculinity. More common is hysteria among women, in which case the possession manifests itself as reversion to infantile behavior: the patient talks babytalk, skips about like a young goat and shamelessly demands little gifts even from strangers and passers-by. The patient must be humored, given gifts or at least promises, for the zar, speaking through the patient, may say: "If you don't give me this, I will kill my horse" (the patient).

Violent forms of possession may manifest themselves by aggression directed against the patient himself, such as beating himself, hitting the head against the wall, eating dirt, trying to climb the wall, wanting to run out at night to roam with hyenas. In some cases, if accompanied by nosebleed, or "weeping blood", this is diagnosed as "buda" and becomes a case for the däbtära practitioner. In cases of running amok, with aggression directed against others, it may be diagnosed as "ganyän" (djinn) and be treated either by the dabtara, zar doctor, or täqway sorcerer.

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The most common form of possession, particularly in women, begins with a kind of incubation. The male zar possessing her is jealous of her human husband, wants her to obtain a divorce and join a zar society

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

tian rules as breaking the fasts. By adjusting to the adult fasting schedule and submitting to the moral authority of the soul-father the young person's membership in the Amhara religious community is being solidly established. With the advent of full adulthood, around the age of thirty, the Amhara is ready to observe the most severe fast of all, the forty-eight-hour period of total abstinence before Easter.

Forms of obedience and respect comprise the principal fiber of the Amhara social fabric, as we shall see more clearly in chapter vii. They are perhaps the most fundamental lessons of Amhara socialization. As soon as the child is capable of understanding he is made aware that all individuals older than he is, and all those in higher social positions, must be shown the most fastidious deference. Not to do so is a sign of being *bälagë* ("rude"), a trait which is corrected by harsh physical punishment. The readiness to respect superiors appears as early as in children's play groups, where the oldest boy spontaneously dictates the activities of the group and receives unquestioning obedience from the others.

For girls after ten and boys after twelve the training for obedience and respect is stepped up as they come under a more constant regimen of control by their parents and other elders. They are ordered to do a considerable amount of work for the household and are expected to be at the beck and call of any individual of higher status who tells them to do something. Thus they become conditioned to show automatic subservience to any figure of authority in later life, be it the family patriarch, community elder, priest, or political official.

His family of orientation is thus the primary agent for transmitting to the Amhara adolescent the more general societal norms as well as for readying him for his adult roles. In order to secure continuity of the Abyssinian social system from generation to generation, specific mechanisms outside the family, such as puberty rites or adolescent age groups, have not been required to mediate the transition to adulthood.

Personal Identity and Variant Patterns[8]

The most important single determinant of the personality of an Amhara appears to be his identification with the parent or parent-figure of the same sex. "Like father, like son" is both ideology and reality in Abyssinia. The attainment of ego identity is therefore normally a matter of imitation rather than discovery or invention. It represents an unfolding of dispositions that have been long internalized and steadily nursed by the consistent regards of an approving milieu.

Assuming the appropriate psychosexual identity is, it appears, hardly ever problematic. Although members of the same sex typically kiss upon greeting,

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

838 hold hands when talking, embrace each other when walking, and sleep in
571 each other's arms, there seems to be neither practice nor knowledge of unsublimated homosexuality among the traditional Amhara. Boys often address one another in the feminine intimate form, and girls sometimes use the masculine form among themselves or call each other "brother," without having their own sexual identities in the least confused thereby. Amhara males, in
831 particular, have a proud cult of virility, though it is not compulsive in the
[834] sense that they must boast of sexual conquests; to talk of sexual exploits in front of others in such a manner would be a great shame, and such matters
[577] are simply taken in one's stride. (The other side of masculinity, physical courage, is the subject of a great deal of boasting. The term for masculinity, *wandnat*, is synonymous with *guabaznat*, or "bravery.")

* 883 The advent of puberty therefore makes the young Amhara simply more
882 self-conscious about the characteristics proper to his or her sex. Girls begin to groom themselves and think of finer clothes. Boys proudly take on a "man's share" of the work; and, what is more, become somewhat unruly, tempestuous, quick to pick fights, and vaunt their new powers. The *goramsā* often
[411] carries a special kind of *dulā* that is symbolic of his youthful masculinity. Unusually short, stout, and hard, it is convenient for concealing beneath his clothes when he goes out at night on sexual adventures, and dangerous enough to convince himself that he is quite brave. As soon as conditions permit, adolescents of both sexes enter their first marriage with alacrity.

155 With respect to psychosocial identity, the situation is slightly more com-
156 plex, in that Abyssinian society does provide a variety of social roles for its males. For the most part, boys faithfully follow the examples of their fathers. This is true in the case of noblemen, priests, traders, and artisans, as well as for the great peasant majority concerning whom the following remarks are presented.

565 The pattern of peasant life is broad enough to fit the dispositions of most
554 of those who are called on to continue it. The typical Amhara adolescent boy
156 therefore seeks no more in life than to be given a pretty wife whose father has a lot of land, to work so well that his father will be generous in giving him land and cattle when he marries, to produce abundant grain so he can eat plenty, and to become renowned in the land as an outstanding litigant.

Under certain conditions, however, this pattern may not fit. The reason may be chiefly economic: too many siblings and too little land in the family may force him to seek some other livelihood. Or it may have to do primarily with resentment with his lot under an especially rigid and unkind father. Still another motive may lie in the boy's yearning for a more suitable identity.

156 Whatever the reasons for his marginality may have been, the adolescent
554 boy in traditional Abyssinia could respond to such a situation by pursuing
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